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New England.

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(Continued from yesterday's paper.)

The dominant idea is to live without working, and to get the most with the least exertion. I am not speaking of the many just and honorable men in every Southern city who are "a law unto themselves," and are ruled by the universal laws of commerce and equity rather than the local influences around them. But southern society is built on a peculiar institution that has dominated in the South. They do not steal money, but money makers. Their earnings are not their own earnings, but what their slaves earn for them. This fact begets another—the division of men into classes, the inequality of natural rights,—and this leads to the framing of laws, partial and unjust; therefore injustice is the organic principle that has been wrought into the industry, commerce and political economy of the South, as justice is the element that has been wrought into the fundamental institutions of New England. This taint works up and down all through the Southern character.

When the Yankee is dishonest, it is not by denying the principles of honesty; it is by carrying his smartness to excess, and evading the doctrines of honesty. His principle is a moral one; his error lies in pushing his shrewdness too far. The Southern man will tell a lie point blank for a purpose; the Yankee has been so religiously educated that he invariably assumes a clumsy lie to be wicked. (Laughter and applause.) They must be ingenious, they must be imaginative, they must be constructive, there must be a smartness in them that shall excite surprise if not admiration. The Southern man puts his heart into his lies, but no brains; the Yankee put very little heart into his, but a great deal of brains. He will not admit that they are lies—they are propositions. (Laughter.) They have misled men, but what fools men must be to be misled! It is their fault. The Southerner lies by telling falsehoods; the Yankee by telling truths.

Thus even the vices of the two sections reveal the basis on which they stand, and the education on which they have grown up. This moral restraint in men who will do wrong produces singular developments. The pioneer Southerners, casting off all restraints and pretences, act fearlessly according to their will. They have a sort of free and large courage. They are men unrestrained and they have that low degree of excellence which inheres in the savage. The Yankee is educated to obedience of law; he is law abiding and he is a poor law breaker, the poorest in the world; he is a coward before the law; he must do wrong within the statute, if at all.

It is not difficult to carry this further and show that the organic influences at work in the two societies make men so differently that they cannot co-exist without some degree of jar. Consider what must be the effect of bringing a stringent, restless, active, prying, indefatigable money-loving class of men, in contact with careless, shiftless, easy, indolent men, who drive along the current of life with an intense sense of to-day and a tropical repugnance to thinking much of to-morrow. Is it wonderful that the grit of the one should offend the pulp of the other? It is this energetic nature, made intenser by his original moral education, that justifies the impression and explains the fact that Yankees are the severest slave holders. We have only to consider the injustice and cruelty of exacting from slaves the industry and regularity which a Northern man expects from himself all his life. It would kill a slave to do the work a freeman scarcely feels. The one rows up stream, the other down. No man can row as far up stream in a day as he can down.

We must add to this the disagreeable side of the Yankee. The distance between a wicked man and a wicked woman is a great deal further than between a man and a woman, for woman begins higher than man and falls further. A man lives so near to the ground that it don't hurt him much to fall. And upon this is the philosophy that when a Yankee becomes wicked he is the wickedest man on earth. When mean, he is the meanest, as you have had opportunities to see, and when good, he is the noblest. I ought not to leave this part of my subject without saying that this sort of men bears no proportion to the business community of New England business men. They are, as a body, as honorable, as truthful and as noble as any that live on earth. They are made to suffer by the sins of those who do the evil. They sniffer by imputation. We must add still further to this inventory the causes of the immediate effect—thorough-bred brain. For two hundred years New England has bred, for one thing, brains. Her schools, her colleges, her townships, families are so many pastures feeding one element, mind. New England has more than any other equal territory, a people wrought up a thorough-bred human stock. Some cattle run to fat, some to flesh, some to strength, some to speed, some to beauty, some like Alderneys, to milk. This is the Yankee; he is the Alderney of men, and carries his bag in his head. (Laughter.)

Education has been the ideal of New England ambition; schools and colleges are the original idols they worship. The result is universal mental activity. There is not room enough in New England for her own population. It is like the bird's nest. There are always more eggs laid in the nest than there can be room in the nest for the birds to grow. It is a good place to be born in; if a man wants to fly he must go somewhere else. They invent, they manufacture and understand brain opportunities as well as any people on earth. Outside of their corner lay a continent which needed just what their enterprise could give—education. The Yankee swarmed the land. Wherever patient, untiring, methodical thought and industry are required, there you will find the Yankee, along the lakes, in all the Western States, at the South, at the mouth of the Mississippi, you will find they carry thoughts altogether disproportionate to New England population. She furnishes cashiers, bankers, fund commissioners, engineers, railroad managers, captains of ships and steamboats, commercialists, machinists, foremen, agents, judges, lawyers, professors, schoolmasters, doctors and candidates for Congress, (laughter) though I will admit that in this last respect she is not to be compared with the South. The Southerner goes to Congress as a means to an end; when the Yankee goes he expects to make something by it. But a Southerner emigrating to Indiana improves the first opportunity to offer to become their Senator in Congress; if there be one elected, he will become representative, but if that berth is filled, he will consent to be State Senator. If they need no more, then he will consent to be a judge of their Supreme Court; if that berth be occupied, he will go to the Legislature, and if he cannot go to the Legislature, he will be sheriff, and if he cannot be a sheriff, rather than do nothing he will be constable—anything that has a salary and no work. This occupancy of places of trust, industry and thought throughout the country, by Yankee mind, has followed the great law of want and of supply. The Yankee is not in such places of responsibility because he has been favored, but he has always risen in spite of prejudice; he has not wormed his way to these places. He is there simply because he was wanted. As many have been exported to order from New England as ever have emigrated to these eminent places and trusts. Where they wanted Northern men to denounce New England, to show her off, even that they have got Yankees to do. Yankees till their plantations, make their wares and furniture, their hands carry the produce to market, do their banking, marry their plantations, teach their creoles, preach their funeral sermons, defend their rebellion, and slander New England (for pretty much all they do of that is done by Yankees); and in the Northern States, the very men who lead the cry against New England are mostly of her own blood. Gov. Seymour of New York will scarcely deny that Connecticut blood is good to make Governors of.

New England, too, has inspired and controlled the literature and learning of this continent. It is a silent work but it is the seat of power in the nation—the leader in our day—that controls newspapers, legislature. New England creates books, furnishes school libraries. New England gives to this land its class of literary men. This is not saying that only New Englanders are educated to letters, but they, her sons, have given to this continent its literary national character. That the Yankee has employed this opportunity to glorify the merits of his ideas, his father's merits and the history of the colonists, is not to be denied, for it is a thing both natural and honorable. As respects national vanity there cannot be a nation without it. You may as well ask for a peacock without a strut as a nation without vanity. You cannot find one on the globe which has not this attribute; and as to boasting, you might as well expect a cock that would not crow as to expect a nation that would not boast. Does not France think that Paris is the universe? Did you ever see a thorough-bred Englishman that did not boast? That America boasts, and that New England boasts, is but to say that they have the attributes of national life. She has boasted, then, no more than any other nation, but she held the high places of learning and letters, so that she can make her merits known and she has boasted so well that she has made every nation curious to know what she says, not more than, but better than others. She has done this thing.

But if all these things have made New England only disagreeable, it is not her foible but her force, that makes her the object at once of hatred and of fear, for New England is no longer mere territory, she is a moral power. Her name stands for ideas, as Athens did and Rome does. It is her moral power, not her social nor material prosperity that enrages the enemies of mankind. We may sum up the real cause of her offence in this land under two heads—her political ideas and her religious philosophy. Her political doctrines are very simple, but very radical. For holding them her fathers were hated by every throne in Europe, and for these same doctrines of the

rights of man and the civil liberties of nations is New England now hated by every aristocrat of the plantation, and by every sneaking sympathizer with oppression in the free States. (Applause.) When in the history of this people, was not the New England name the synonym for liberty? (Applause.) She is the true founder of this continent, of popular government. New England gave to America republican institutions. Let men take the testimony of the impartial De Toqueville, the noblest political philosopher of this age, and the best writer on liberty of any age. He does not hesitate to declare that this nation is indebted not only to New England but to New England townships for the best ideas of our institutions. New England was teacher of the political philosophy of this continent, when an inferior from a tropical climate seized the capital; its ideas represented by the deadly miasmas of the Goli; liberty was construed by judges, that were foes of liberty, and the government that was ordained to maintain universal liberty, for fifty years has been controlled by men who sought to establish slavery forever by its forms and its power. In this infamous revolution, openly and secretly, individually and collectively, New England has been unbridled and would not revolt from her principles, and she is on trial for her inexorable fidelity to liberty. (Applause.) If she would yield her philosophy, if she would so far yield it that it would be but the philosophy of the schools and the lecture-room, if she would withdraw the power that she exerts upon the minds of men to battle tyranny, and destroy the most infamous of all tyranny—that of the intelligent white, strong, over the poor besotted black, weak—if New England would consent to overthrow all this doctrine that made her own original life and stamped her for immortality, she would become popular in half an hour. She is hated in every Southern State for the very reason that Five Points hates the churches of New York, that the burglar hates the law, that the thief is against the judge, that crime hates virtue, that oppression hates liberty; and the brightest star that has shone out in her history yet, is that New England stands ready to be burned—a martyr that will not flinch bearing testimony to her own political doctrines. (Tremendous applause.)

Beside, there are her religious philosophies, and that has been a cause of offense, and will be, so long as conscience, and fidelity and honor remain, or Christianity throbs in the hearts of men that have experienced its divine power. And in New England, chiefly, I think it may be said, you will find the representation of the great democratic religious tendencies, as antagonistic to the hierarchic tendency of religion. There have been substantially two great divisions in regard to Christianity as a power and the mode of applying it. One holds that Christianity comes to all, a kingdom within a kingdom, *imperium imperio*. The church is to be built, and into it are to be invited all that are willing to come, and the minister holds that they are not to go into the crowd; they are the servants of the meek and lowly Jesus, they tell you, and they gather themselves into the seclusion of the temple, and stand in dim and awful light before the altar, or the flame that has no sound but only fire and sight. So would they stand, not active forces among men, but servants of the Church.

There is another idea, the Puritan idea, which begins with the declaration that "God so loved the world," not the church. It accepts the church according to what it can do, as a co-worker for humanity. It holds that the business of the minister is to take the things of salvation and bear them right down to the hearts—not of a select few—but of mankind. (Applause.) The Puritan conception of the duties of the minister of religion is, that he is the drawn sword that Christ declared he came to send into the world, that he shall learn that his business is to agitate men. He thanks God that he is true to his character. The Puritan holds that God's truth is as the sunlight, and there is no place on earth sacred from its intrusion, and he has a right to carry it there, because he is ordained a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The minister of New England from the earliest days, they have been pleased to call meddling, especially in public affairs. I hold that to be a literal truth. (Applause.) I hold that the glory of New England was in these bright days gone by when every minister of the gospel felt that he was part of the Commonwealth, and that there was no citizen so low that was not his brother and his friend, and that he was called as a citizen and a Christian brother, to go down, a man among men, to bear their burdens, bringing the consolations and the warnings, and the truths of the gospel to every man. For the last fifty years that doctrine has gone into decline and the ministry have been deceived for a short time to believe that their business was in the pulpit and not in the forum, and that has been the most despicable period of New England's history. But the bandage has been torn off, and that spirit has come back again to New England, and the voice of the min-

ister sounds through the whole continent, and it is the gospel of liberty preached by New England ministers that makes the offense. Find me a man, fat with his indolence, pleasing to all men, that rebukes no profitable sin, and that holds himself too sacred to teach a citizen's duty, and you may look at him from the top to the bottom and you won't find that passion or reproach has ever touched him. He is not detested. Find me a man that with the spirit of the old fathers that wrought out on his anvil the doctrine that broke the fetters and that disowned crowns—find me such a minister that of his own spirit wrought out the doctrine that every man by the right and title that God put in him has a right to civil liberty, and there is not a whelp on the face of the earth that shall not bark and howl at his heels. And this is the peculiar glory of New England, intermitted but for a short disastrous period. If, then, these two things could be changed, the political philosophy and the liberty of New England mind, slavery could walk unmolested. It is the glory of New England that, as she was the cradle of liberty, she refuses to walk after its coffin.

And now what is the cause of this disturber of the nation? Is it that New England loves money? Since she is the only part of the nation that does, may she not be forgiven? (Laughter.)—New England owns the money that she earns with her honest hands. Others love the money that is earned by the black hands of slavery. That is the difference. Is it that New England boasts? She ought not, having such unparalleled examples of modesty of the first families of Virginia, the meekness of the Carolinians, who have taught her to be meek. The boasts of New England stand in singular contrast with the exquisite principles of modesty of every part of this land; she should be condemned for boasting. Is it that in national trusts and burdens she has meanly shirked her share? Take the statistics of history and ask who gave the most money and the most men in the revolutionary struggle. Go back and ask if in the war of 1812, which New England hated, she did not give the money and was the moral support of the Administration? Ask if in every struggle since when the Government has been jeopardized, which part of the country has given the most material and the most moral support to the public welfare, and that shall be New England's clearance and apology for the declaration that has entered all this land. New England has patiently borne the fruits and has never shrunk nor failed to bear more than her part of the public burdens. Wherever there is a State you will find the glory of New England her school mistresses and masters and churches, testifying all over the land what has been her fidelity in the civilization of this continent. No! This is the cause of her offense, that in a nation that run greedily after worldly gain, she would never suffer this mischief, that when the nation was giving up its principles and salvation to Southern revolutionists, New England stood firm as the apostle of God against apostasy. For this national fidelity, it is proposed to reconstruct the Union and leave her out.

But will you be kind enough to tell me where New England is! Not on her own territory. New England is wherever her ideas are, and you have got to tear down the books that fill the libraries of this continent, before New England is shut out. Shut out this territory—New England ain't out. The laws that she made throb still, the blood that she put into them, the institutions that she framed stand as witnesses to bring her back. Her sons and her daughters fill the land. One-third part of the population of America is either New England, or descended from New England people, to-day. More than one million men live in this nation to-day that were born in New England, and are you going to turn them out? What will you do with those threads woven into the fabric of the country? There will be holes and patches, I take it, when New England is turned out. (Applause.)

And if she were turned out, is her honor gone? Was Christianity destroyed when they destroyed Jerusalem? Again, if you should sack Rome, and raze it to the ground, would the Roman Catholic faith go because Rome went? If you burn the old cradle and nurse, do you burn the man that forty years before slept in it? Do what you can in New England, the influence of her work abides still, and will abide upon this continent. Not until you have reorganized the States, not until you have taken from them every fundamental idea, not until you have changed every portion of this government, can you get rid of New England. No, not then; for if you should destroy her books, shut her schools, send home her professors, return her population back to her, and fill her up with people from her shores up to the mountain sides, and build a wall of exclusion, have you got rid of her then? I tell you that you cannot make a law that will keep ideas at home. You may as well make a law that birds shall not fly higher than a fowler's aim: for ideas fly high and are quick-winged, and we send them

(CONTINUED ON FOURTH PAGE.)